

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

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FOL USNATO 6153 SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC DEC 15 REPEATED TO
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S E C R E T USNATO 6153

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: NEW FRENCH TEXT AND MISSION COMMENTS

REF: USNATO 6010

BEGIN SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS A TRANSLATION BY THE UK DEL
OF THE LATEST FRENCH TEXTS FOR PARAS 3 AND 4 OF THE DRAFT DECLARA-
TION OF THE FIFTEEN. ALSO SUBMITTED ARE MISSION'S TEXTUAL SUG-
GESTIONS FOR THE ABOVE PARAS AND FOR PARA 5 DESIGNED
TO BRING THE LATEST FRENCH PARAS INTO CLOSER HARMONY WITH
THOUGHTS EXPRESSED IN THE US DRAFT PROPOSALS OF DEC 5
(STATE 236115). END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING IS A TRANSLATION BY THE UK DEL, AND AGREED BY THE
US AND CANADIAN DELS OF THE LATEST FRENCH REVISIONS OF

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PARAS 3 AND 4 OF THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION. THESE WERE

TRANSMITTED, WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION, IN USNATO 6010.

BEGIN TEXT:

PARA THREE: "3. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING THEIR COMMON DEFENCE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR TO A POINT OF NEAR EQUILIBRIUM, WHICH HAS NO EQUIVALENT IN EUROPE, HAS MADE MORE DISTINCT THE ALLIANCE'S PROBLEMS IN THE DEFENCE OF EUROPE.

PARA FOUR: "4. THIS DEVELOPMENT IN NO WAY ALTERS THE ESSENTIAL FACT - AND THIS IS SOMETHING THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WISH TO REAFFIRM - THAT THERE IS NO PRESENT ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY AMERICAN NUCLEAR FORCES BASED IN THE US AND EUROPE AND BY THE PRESENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE." END TEXT

2. ALTHOUGH THE FRENCH ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION IN THEIR LATEST VERSION OF KEY PARAS 3 AND 4, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING REDRAFTS OF SPECIFIC SENTENCES IN THOSE PARAS, AND ALSO IN PARA 5 THAT WOULD, IF ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRENCH AND OTHERS, BRING THE CURRENT FRENCH TEXT EVEN MORE INTO LINE WITH OUR OWN VIEWS.

3. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO PARA 3, SENTENCE 1, AS CURRENTLY WORDED. RE PARA 3, SENTENCE 2, WE THINK SENTENCE WOULD COME CLOSER TO US POSITION IF IT DROPPED "NO EQUIVALENCE" NOTION TO READ AS FOLLOWS: "AS A RESULT OF THE EVOLUTION INTO APPROXIMATE BALANCE OF THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY SPECIFIC." IF SOME OF FRANCE'S THOUGHT OF "NO EQUIVALENCE" MUST BE ACCEPTED AS THE DRAFTING EXERCISE MOVES FORWARD, WE WOULD SUGGEST TREATING IT IN TWO SENTENCES AS FOLLOWS: "THERE HAS BEEN AN EVOLUTION INTO APPROXIMATE BALANCE OF THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT THERE HAS NOT BEEN AN EQUIVALENT EVOLUTION

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IN EUROPE. THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE ARE THUS BECOMING INCREASINGLY SPECIFIC."

4. MOREOVER, WE THINK SOMETHING OF THE THOUGHT CONVEYED IN THE UNITED STATES' PROPOSED SENTENCE 3 OF PARA 3 SHOULD BE RETAINED IN ANY NEW VERSION OF THAT PARA. SINCE THE FRENCH HAVE TREATED THE REQUIREMENT FOR STATIONED NORTH AMERICAN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN THEIR REVISION OF PARA

4. THIS THOUGHT COULD BE LEFT OUT OF OUR PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA 3. THE LATTER SENTENCE COULD THEN BE COMPRESSED TO READ AS BELOW AND PERHAPS COMPRESSED EVEN FURTHER SHOULD DRAFTING COMPROMISES REQUIRE. OUR SURRENT PROPOSED TEXT FOR SENTENCE 3, PARA 3 IS:

"ALL OF THE ALLIES, HOWEVER, BY HAVING FREELY CHOSEN TO ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE IS AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL, SHARE AS PARTNERS IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, THUS GREATLY DIMINISHING THE DANGERS TO WHICH MEMBER COUNTRIES WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPOSED."

5. RE THE NEW FRENCH 4TH PARA, WE STILL BELIEVE AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DROP "PRESENT" AS A MODIFIER OF "ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY AMERICAN NUCLEAR FORCES IN ..."

6. WE BELIEVE ARGUMENTS CITED IN NAC DEC 3 AND 5 AGAINST SPECIFIC CITATION IN PARA 5 OF THE 90-10 MANPOWER RATIO ARE PERSUASIVE. WE THINK THE POINT IS EQUALLY WELL MADE BY SAYING THAT THE EUROPEAN ALLIES PROVIDE A "PREPONDERANCE" OF THE CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE.

7. THE TROUBLE WITH THE WORDS "OF THEIR OWN," ALSO IN SENTENCE 2 OF PARA 5 IS THAT THEY REFER TO THE ROLE OF UK AND FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES, AND THAT HAS RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER SOME USE OF THEM IS SUGGESTED OUTSIDE OR INDEPENDENT OF THE ALLIANCE. IF WE MAKE THE WORDS MODIFY: "FORCES" INSTEAD OF "ROLE," THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM, BECAUSE IT WILL THEN BE A STATEMENT OF FACT -- FRANCE AND UK DO HAVE THEIR OWN DETERRENT NUCLEAR FORCES. THE QUESTION OF THEIR ROLE -- FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE -- IS A SEPARATE ONE, BUT NOT EVERY QUESTION NEED BE RAISED IN THE DECLARATION.

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8. IN LINE WITH THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 5 BE RECAST TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

"THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE A PREPONDERANCE OF THE CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHOM POSSESS DETERRENT NUCLEAR FORCES OF THEIR OWN TO THE BENEFIT OF THE ALLIANCE, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THIER INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND OF REPELLING ALL AGGRESSION SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL."

9. ON THE QUESTION OF TIMING, IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BEST TO AWAIT INSTRUCTED REACTIONS IN THE NAC, BOTH TO THE US

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED DEC 5 AND TO THE FRENCH REVISIONS
OF PARAS 3 AND 4, BEFORE SUGGESTING FURTHER REVISIONS.
WE WILL, HOWEVER, NEED WASHINGTON VIEWS ON CHANGES
MISSION HAS PROPOSED IN THIS MESSAGE FOR USE IN ADVANCE OF THE TIME
WHEN DRAFTING PHASE IS TO RESUME. RUMSFELD UNQUOTE RUSH

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